

Message Text

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P - MR. HABIB
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TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE
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S E C R E T STATE 044137

NODIS
JERUSALEM FOR ATHERTON AT 8 A.M. (TO USDEL NO. 1)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, EG, IS, US

SUBJECT:REVISED EGYPTIAN DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

REF: CAIRO 5532

1. OUR ANALYSIS OF TEXT REFTEL AND COMPARISON WITH BOTH
KAMEL PREVIOUS DRAFT AND WITH LAST EGYPTIAN POSITION
ISRAELIS HAVE SEEN FROM END OF JERUSALEM CONFERENCE LEAD
US TO CONCLUDE THAT CURRENT DRAFT REPRESENTS SUBSTANTIAL
HARDENING OF EGYPTIAN POSITION. TO PRESENT IT TO ISRAELIS
WOULD OBVIOUSLY CREATE SERIOUS PROBLEMS. WE GATHER, ALSO,
FROM REFTEL THAT SADAT HAS NOT SEEN THIS LATEST TEXT AL-
THOUGH HE TOLD EILTS SATURDAY (CAIRO 5445) THAT TEXT WOULD
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BE SENT TO ATHERTON "AFTER HIS REVIEW." WE SEE TWO ALTER-
NATIVES FOR HANDLING THIS PROBLEM, DISCUSSED BELOW.

2. ATHERTON COULD PRESENT LATEST EGYPTIAN DRAFT, ACKNOW-
LEDGING IT IS SUBSTANTIAL HARDENING OF EGYPTIAN POSITION
BUT TRYING TO PUT BEST FACE ON MATTER. HE COULD SAY
FRANKLY THAT THIS REPRESENTS A REGRESSION IN EGYPTIAN

POSITION BUT THAT WE ARE HOPEFUL IT IS SIMPLY TACTICAL
MOVE. SINCE ISRAELIS HAD NOT MATCHED EGYPTIAN MOVE TOWARD
ASWAN LANGUAGE WE JUDGE SADAT MAY BE MOVING BACK, FOR
BARGAINING PURPOSES, TO POSITION WHERE HE HAS SOMETHING

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TO CONCEDE IN ORDER TO GET ISRAELI AGREEMENT TO ASWAN
LANGUAGE. THE DIFFICULTY WE SEE, HOWEVER, IS ISRAELI
REACTION WILL BE SO STRONG THAT THIS MAY PUSH BEGIN TO
DECISION HE IS, EVIDENTLY, ALREADY CONSIDERING OF WITH-
DRAWING HIS SINAI PROPOSAL. ISRAELIS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY
CHARGE THAT SADAT'S HARDENED POSITION IS DIRECT RESULT OF
ENCOURAGEMENT HE GOT FROM USG IN WASHINGTON. UNDER THESE
CIRCUMSTANCES, WE THINK LIABILITIES OF PRESENTING EGYPTIAN
DRAFT ARE TOO GREAT TO TAKE THE CHANCE.

3. OUR PREFERRED ALTERNATIVE IS THAT EILTS GO BACK TO
SADAT AND DISCUSS GRAVE PROBLEMS RAISED BY THIS DRAFT,
URGING SADAT TO PRESENT EGYPTIAN POSITION AS CLOSE TO
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LANGUAGE IN OUR PREVIOUS DRAFT AND OUR ASWAN LANGUAGE AS
POSSIBLE. ATHERTON SHOULD TELL ISRAELIS THAT SADAT IS
PERSONALLY REVIEWING EARLIER EGYPTIAN IDEAS PRESENTED BY
KAMEL AND THAT WE DO NOT YET HAVE SADAT'S APPROVED VERSION
OF LATEST EGYPTIAN DRAFT. HE WOULD TELL ISRAELIS, HOWEVER,
THAT WE HOPE TO RECEIVE IT SOON AND ARE URGING SADAT TO
BE AS FLEXIBLE AS POSSIBLE.

4. IN THE MEANTIME, ATHERTON CAN PROCEED, IN DISCUSSION
WITH ISRAELIS, WITH OTHER POINTS OF HIS GUIDANCE WHICH DO
NOT DEPEND ON PRESENTATION OF EGYPTIAN DRAFT, TO WIT OUR
VIEW THAT SOMETHING VERY CLOSE TO OUR ASWAN LANGUAGE IS
MINIMUM EGYPTIANS CAN ACCEPT; DISCUSSION OF WEST BANK/GAZA
GUIDELINES; AND U.S. VIEW ON UN RES 242 AS REQUIRING
WITHDRAWAL.

5. FOR EILTS: YOU SHOULD GET BACK TO SADAT AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE URGING ON HIM IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING REGRESSION
AND PRODUCING A DRAFT REVISING KAMEL'S LAST PROPOSAL AND
STAYING AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO OUR DRAFT GIVEN KAMEL
FEBRUARY 1 BASED ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S ASWAN LANGUAGE.
YOU SHOULD URGE ALSO IMPORTANCE OF SOMETHING ATHERTON CAN

USE WITH THE ISRAELIS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SINCE HE HAS NO EFFECTIVE MEANS OF WORKING FOR ISRAELI COMPROMISE EXCEPT AN EGYPTIAN COUNTER-PROPOSAL. YOU SHOULD POINT OUT WE HAVE HAD NOTHING TO PRESENT TO ISRAELIS SINCE SUSPENSION OF JERUSALEM CONFERENCE. FYI. IT IS OUR STRONG IMPRESSION, FROM CAIRO 5445, THAT SADAT HAS NO VERY CLEAR AWARENESS OF PREVIOUS HISTORY AND CONTENTS OF DRAFTS. WE SUSPECT HE MAY NOT EVEN REALIZE HOW REGRESSIVE THE CURRENT DRAFT IS AND THAT HIS FRAME OF REFERENCE IS MORE HIS OWN PRO- NOUNCEMENTS AND EXPANSIVE MOOD SINCE WASHINGTON VISIT THAN ANY SENSE OF WHERE WE ARE IN THE DRAFTING AND NEGOTIATING PROCESS ON DECLARATION. END FYI. YOU SHOULD ASSURE SADAT THAT, IN ASKING HIM TO ADAPT TO ASWAN LANGUAGE, WE ARE

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PREPARED TO URGE ISRAELIS IN STRONGEST TERMS TO AGREE TO ASWAN LANGUAGE. AS SADAT KNOWS FROM TALKS HERE, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR US TO ATTAIN LANGUAGE THAT GOES AS FAR BEYOND ASWAN LANGUAGE AS LATEST DRAFT. IT IS OUR ESTIMATE THAT THIS IS BEST HOPE OF GETTING AGREEMENT OF THE TWO SIDES ON A SATISFACTORY DECLARATION. IN VIEW OF STRONG SUPPORT SADAT WON FROM PUBLIC AND CONGRESS DURING VISIT HERE, IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE IF EGYPTIAN POSITION NOW SEEN AS REGRESSIVE. YOU SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT SUGGEST ANY LINKAGE BETWEEN KIND OF DRAFT EGYPTIANS PROPOSE AND THE PROSPECTIVE DANGER OF BEGIN'S WITHDRAWING HIS SINAI PROPOSAL.

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